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## The Mississippi Investigation.

Minority Report of Senators Bayard and McDonald.

[CONTINUED.]

HELP TO MRS. HAFKA.

Q. Why was this application made to you by Mrs. Hafka?  
A. As being in command of this military company, I suppose she was sent to me by some one. She was inquiring about where she could get assistance, and she was sent to me. She told me that Hafka's father was a man of considerable wealth and influence, and that when she could get home she would be able to get her family out of the country; and I handed her \$50. Where she went I don't know, and I have never seen her from that time to this. I never saw her before.

Q. Was that a gratuity you gave to her, or did you owe that money to her husband?  
A. No, sir; I never owed the money to anybody. I never saw her from that time to this. I never saw her before.

This does not in the least lessen the crime, but may have some effect in assisting some other crime than political prejudice as the origin of his murder.

The result of the Clinton riot and the affair at Yazoo City had the effect of aggravating the excitement and feeling between the two races. Instead of entering the law to be respected by a prompt and vigorous use of its powers, it would not appear that Governor Ames and his State administration took any of those steps which under a government of laws a ruler should have taken to punish the offenders and prevent the recurrence of wrong. We have not been able to ascertain that a prosecution was ever set on foot against any one connected with these riots, or any attempt whatever made to apprehend and punish any of the wrongdoers. On the contrary, it would appear from the order-book of Governor Ames, which was submitted to the committee, that two testimonies of E. Barkdale, p. 463, that his favorite and only remedy—the bayonet—was looked to by Governor Ames.

On the 24th of September a circular letter addressed by Ames to the Republican sheriffs of certain counties in the following words:

"September 24." "Sir: I am directed by his excellency the governor to inquire if any militia organizations are needed in your county to assist the civil officers."

"Are there any threats from the opposition, that, in your judgment, will be carried into effect, and if so, will it be possible to hold a quiet and peaceable election?"

It will be observed that this letter was not in response to any application for aid and had evidently not been preceded by reports from any quarters of violence, either actual or apprehended. Governor Ames was plainly seeking for information that would justify, or rather give him the pretext for the use of armed militia.

He inquired "if there were threats from the opposition, and whether, in the opinion of his agents, such threats would be carried into effect; and if so, will it be possible to hold a quiet and peaceable election?"

Nothing could more strongly show the temper and intent of Governor Ames than this spontaneous, unprovoked collection of opinion from his partisan sheriffs, for no such inquiry was directed to any but his political confidants.

The answers to these circulars do not appear, but the inference is not to be drawn that the negroes were this informed that they were to receive armed protection, and that they were to be armed themselves for political purposes.

By a speech made by the colored brigadier-general, Gray, when he returned to Washington county after an interview with Governor Ames, to which allusion has been made, we learn that Governor Ames was to give the colored militia arms to secure the election; and such doubt was the information given in other parts of the State.

In pursuance of this policy of intimidation and violence we find on the 6th and 7th of October special orders published by the adjutant-general, which clearly explain themselves:

[Special Orders No. 10.]

October 6, 5.  
Brigadier-General William F. Fitzgibbon, fifth division Mississippi State militia will order Captain W. C. Mosely, Company D, Second Regiment Infantry, Hinds county State militia, stationed at Edwards' Depot, as soon as arms and ammunition are distributed to them, to report at Jackson, Mississippi.

By order of the commander-in-chief,  
A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General.

[Special Orders No. 7.]

October 7, 5.  
Lieutenant Colonel O. S. Lee, aide-de-camp on the staff of commander-in-chief, is hereby ordered to proceed to New Orleans, Louisiana, to make any and all arrangements with the S. O. S. L. & C. R. Co., for transportation of troops and supplies of the Mississippi State militia.

By order of the commander-in-chief,  
A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General.

And also the following correspondence:  
October 4.  
Dear Sir: I am directed by his excellency the governor to inquire if it is possible for us to obtain cars for transportation of (300) three hundred men and equipment for two hundred more. The equipment will require a box-car. This time for using the train to be fixed at a day within the next two weeks. Train to run from Jackson, Mississippi, to Vaughn's Station, and to remain under orders until the men are returned to Jackson.

Very respectfully,  
A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General.

E. D. Frost, General Manager N. O., St. L. & C. R. R., New Orleans, La.

October 4.  
Sir: Yours of the 2d ultimo received. General orders are issued for the militia of the State to enter service; your offer will receive due consideration.

Very respectfully,  
A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General.

W. R. Stewart, Esq., Kirkwood, Miss.

October 1.  
Sir: Can you furnish five thousand (5,000) rations of pork or bacon and

breast under the authority granted by the Secretary of War for the militia of this State.

It is possible, ship immediately to William Noonan, superintendent State penitentiary.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General.

The Commissary of Subsistence, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, La.

September 2.  
Sir: I am directed by his excellency the governor to transmit the enclosed duplicate requisitions for arms and accoutrements on the quota of the State of Mississippi.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General.

Brigadier-General S. V. Bend, Chief of Ordnance, Washington, D. C.

September 27, '5.  
D. Appleton & Co., Broadway, New York.

At what price will you furnish one hundred copies of the Infantry Tactics and ten sets of copies of the three different arms? Answer.

A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General Mississippi.

September 27, '5.  
Brigadier-General, S. V. Bend, Chief of Ordnance, Washington, D. C.

Can you furnish five hundred heavy-caliber muskets? At what price? Please answer.

A. G. PACKER,  
Adjutant-General Mississippi.

Can there be any doubt of the object and intent of this correspondence?

These warlike preparations so made by the Governor of the State were not only known to the citizens, but created in the minds of the colored population the belief that all the powers of the State were to be arrayed in behalf of their political party, and brought upon the whites the conviction that they were to be placed not only in great danger of losing their political liberties, but also their lives and those of their families.

The condition of feeling created by such a belief cannot be justly estimated and considered in the calm security of a committee-room in the seclusion of a country home where a planter resides, far distant from any white neighbor, too far for the cry for help to reach any friendly ear, and knows that he is surrounded by a hostile and armed force of a different and antagonized race, a race which, while possessing many amiable and placid virtues, is yet highly animous in its organization, and, once being incited to action, will be capable of brutal excesses which their reasoning powers are entirely unequal to control.

As a result of Ames' threatened organization for arming of the militia, the threats of the blacks multiplying, their habit of meeting was always at night, surrounded by the mystery of darkness and the refusal to allow white people to take part in their assemblies, page 347.

THE STATE MILITIA.

Question. Was there apprehension in the minds of the white people in Mississippi growing out of the organization of the negro militia by Governor Ames?

Answer. Yes, sir; a very great apprehension. This militia was organized some time after the Clinton riot. These companies that were at Clinton that ran off from the militia were the most conspicuous members of the Clinton riot were taken to Jackson and were organized into military companies by Governor Ames, and guns placed in their hands and sent back to their homes. They said they were afraid to go back; but those who were afraid to go back had taken a very active part in the riot, and in staying away they induced others to stay, because they knew that if they should go in that capacity the Governor would be brought to hear upon them from the outside, and they might not be able to resist the temptation.

Q. How many years have you been living at your present place?

A. Nearly all.

Q. Some of those negroes were on the place before the war and remain there now?

A. Nearly all.

Q. You mentioned that you had lived in fear of assassination from the negroes?

A. Yes, sir. I never stated that exactly—that I lived in fear of assassination; I said that I was in fear of assassination. Senator Bayard asked me if I was afraid, and I said that sometimes my fears were so strongly aroused that I sent my family off, and I said there myself.

Q. You may have stated that the people were living in fear of assassination—your neighbors perhaps: was that what you meant?

A. Yes, sir; and evidence of this state of feeling will be found throughout the testimony.

The apprehensions of both races thus excited grew to fever heat, and a condition of affairs absolutely alarming to the citizens of the State. The State of Mississippi, and at last penetrated the mind of Governor Ames himself.

His plans had worked but too well. He had counted upon a state of despair and anxiety upon the part of the unhappy people over whom he had been placed in rule which threatened to wrap that State in flame and blood. It was no thanks to him or his advisers that this state of affairs was not reached at the time or preceding the election in November, 1875. From every quarter evidence reached him of this state of affairs. He had never counted upon the people. He had sought to learn how far concession, and justice, and kindness, and sympathy, and a recognition of their tastes, prejudices, and habits would go toward procuring good government among a people.

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the negroes; what do you mean by that; that they are organized in bands, under the command of any particular person, or that they are associated together for the purpose of doing wrong to the community of interests, or both?

A. They are not organized in bands, and having a general head.

A. Well, in the first place, they have their clubs; just as any other political organization has its clubs. I have never been inside of one of their clubs, but then they never have asked me, though the clubs were republican in their name, and republican, I suppose, in their character. They have generally acted in such a way as to leave me to believe that they did not want my presence there. Although they are quite near my house, I have entirely abstained from going there. And when the county convention would meet, I have observed that the negroes in these conventions very strongly resisted white influence, and consequently it became disagreeable, inasmuch as there was such disposition, to the white people to have anything to do with these conventions. It became unpleasant personally, and it produced an impression which it was hard to avoid. I have always found it practically impossible for me to avoid it; the impression that these meetings meant nothing but the organization of one race against the other. The truth is that a white man, especially a southern white man, belonging to the republican party, does not seem to be any more acceptable as one of the members of the convention than he belongs to the opposition. Although my connection with the republican party has been unobscured, and I believe I have escaped from any personal reproach in that connection, yet a white man, especially a southern white man, is not a bit greater than that of any democrat in my county; not a particle. I am quite certain that I was never able to influence a vote, and I am quite certain that I was never able to influence a vote on any single question of politics; which I confess with some mortification.

Governor Ames seemed disposed to for the flames of excitement and antagonism that were kindled. As an illustration of this it was desired to transport some arms and munitions of war from Jackson to Edwards' Station, between which points a railroad was in operation; but Governor Ames sent these arms conveyed by a negro militia company, fully armed, in command of Caldwell, a colored State Senator, to march through the country with drums and flags and all the pomp of war, having no other object than to excite the alarm already existing. (See Barkdale's testimony, page 472.)

Mr. Johnston, in his testimony at page 354, says, in regard to this and other acts of Governor Ames:

"On all hands and from all classes of white citizens I heard but one expression in reference to this militia, which was that it was intended by Governor Ames to use that militia to bring about a collision of the races, and the expression was used that it was his ultimate purpose to afford a good pretext for getting United States troops here to carry the election."

The result of such a course of action was made manifest all over the State wherever the negroes existed in superior or approximate numbers to the whites. The citizens of Clinton, in Madison county, turned out and picketed their town for weeks at night before the election. (See testimony of Mayor Johnston, page 553.)

Question. You do not know of any apprehension of their injuring you, do you?

Answer. Well, for myself I will tell you; when I have seen my neighbors and sent back to their homes, they said they were afraid to go back; but those who were afraid to go back had taken a very active part in the riot, and in staying away they induced others to stay, because they knew that if they should go in that capacity the Governor would be brought to hear upon them from the outside, and they might not be able to resist the temptation.

Q. How many years have you been living at your present place?

A. Nearly all.

Q. Some of those negroes were on the place before the war and remain there now?

A. Nearly all.

Q. You mentioned that you had lived in fear of assassination from the negroes?

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